/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/198 cont./

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 • 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/199 cont./

*192 war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become
178 invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they
411 painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover,
[276] they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Iahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called
714 in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very
535 light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and,
*192 up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3)).

177 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use,
178 and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow
411 and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior
*[192] of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

T
• 411
*[192]

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The bow, bõé-ka-tẽ or bõé-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

T
[824]

As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpú, hence the name of buxpú-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."

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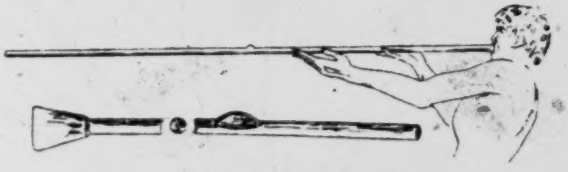

Sarabatana (buxpú-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

M /200 cont./
411 or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T
• 411 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
T settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
[237] point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[824] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of pataúá (30).

T
[184]

> 30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

> 31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/201 cont./

411
[192]

Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blow-gun/.

224
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a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-arco, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

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b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33),

33. They often use the paracôuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

/201 cont./

*192 227 411 411 225 226 with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the dart by means of a long string (34).

34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/," Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192] When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 411 c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c)).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2)).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 1));

•[411] *[192]

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

/345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

*[192]

Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m)).

[534] [237]

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

From *Kíwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake. Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past.

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*.

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí.

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.

726
411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

/p. 50-B/

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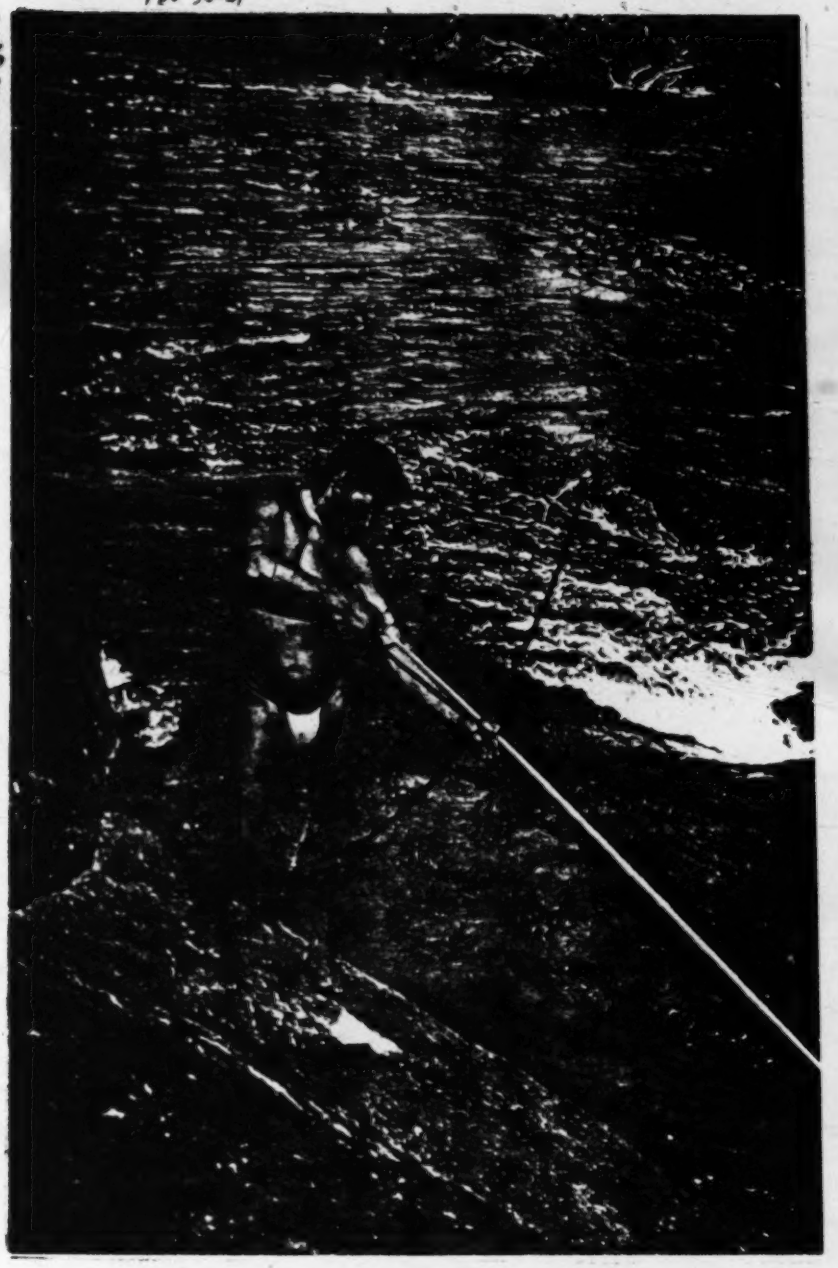


A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

4

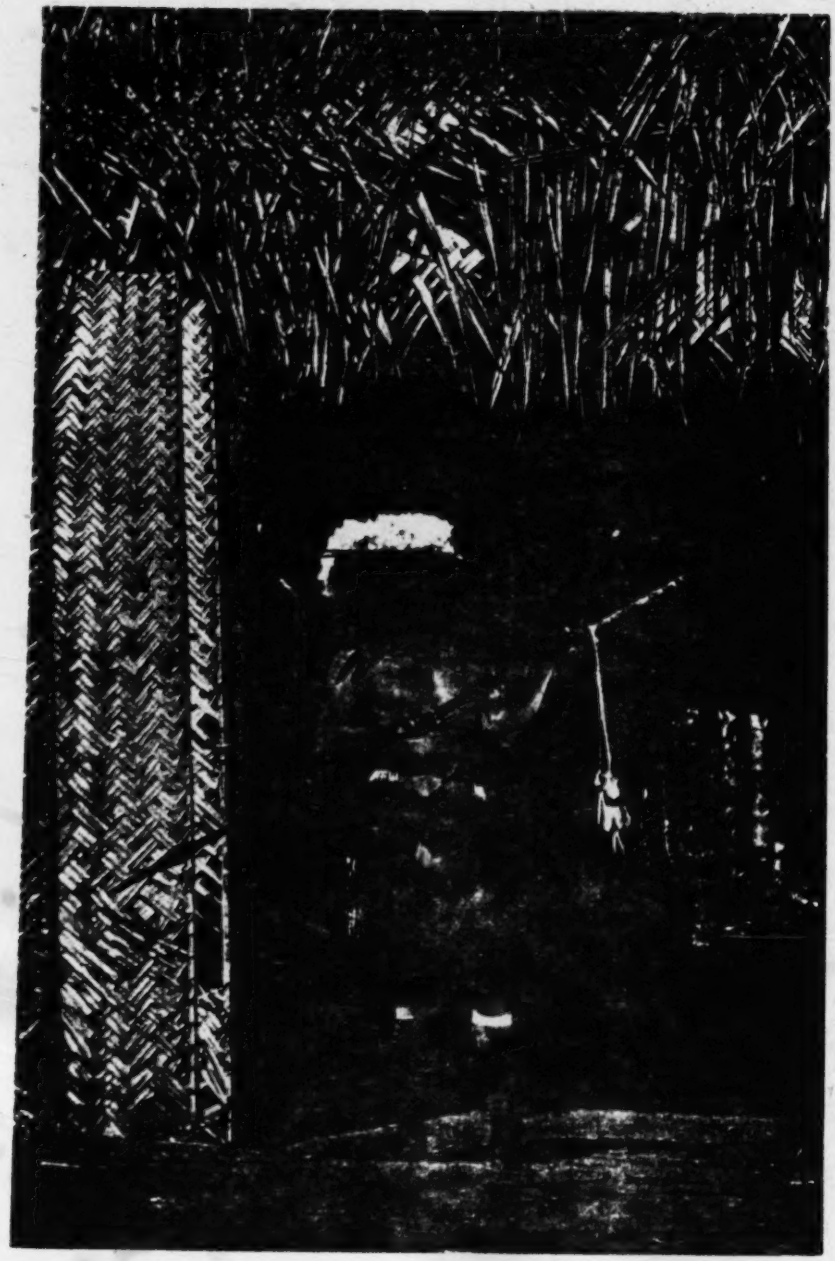
The Forest Addicts

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his
302 home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
411 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
609 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little.
152 When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

/p. 70-A/



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A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

6t Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

6

Panpipes and Don Giovanni

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The